764 bikofo -- the heavy branches upon which lay the bed in which the woman died.

lŏngo -- a hoe (real or replaced by a ring) to dig the grave.

ifaká -- a knife (ditto) to dig the grave.

yándá -- an axe (ditto) to cut the roots that would be found at the site of the grave. (1)

1. One day I saw the iron bar given as yándá refused by the wife's family because it was the same one they themselves had given to help the husband pay the nkanga (doctor-sorcerer) for his divination (bolíngó) during the wife's illness.

● [787]

bombémbé wă nyang'éy'ǒna -- a belt for the mother of the deceased, so that she can wear it during mourning.

botsá w'ílákā -- the head of the corpse, in honor of those who wail over the deceased while sitting near her head, that is, [438] to say, the very close relatives. This is the last and largest payment, consisting of 3 to 5 rings.

All these payments together comprise the nkunjí and, with the exception of the nsango, the likongá l'etóo, and the byĕko by'ókáko, they are a kind of beéngo. (1) Not all the beéngo are

1. See Chapter II, Article V.

equally large. Therefore, all of them are not always claimed. The smallest ones -- bakemo, bantsingá, baóndo, nkóngi, bokengo, nsili, bompúlo, mpuka -- are often omitted.

Even some of the others may be left out. The matter depends not only on the friendliness of feeling between the two groups, but chiefly on the number of children to which the woman in question has given birth. If the woman was sterile, her family is less demanding. But if the deceased had several children, they do not yield, arguing that their daughter was a source of great profit to her husband's clan.

Article VI. The Economic Position of a Widow

736 As long as her seclusion lasts, a widow continues to live
768 with the family of her deceased husband. She supplies herself with food from the crops she has grown. The tools her husband has given her remain in her hands, and she makes use of them as soon as she can. As to the various utensils which must be destroyed, they are replaced by others lent her by the family of the deceased, for she may no longer use those which served her in her husband's lifetime.

In order to better express the magnitude of their mourning, the Nkundó often refrain [441] from using the products of the farms established by the deceased. Therefore, instead of continuing to cultivate the existing crops of manioc and vegetables, the widow prefers to seek provisions in the fields of the close relatives of the deceased. Or a man who has already chosen her may place his fields at her disposal. If neither of these sources is available and she wishes to observe the rule rigorously, she must purchase what she needs in this realm.

736 As we have seen in Chapter VI, Article II, a widow has no
768 claim to the fruits of her labors. Neither the money she has earned
421 and which is intended for the common needs of the household, nor the crops she has set up, nor the fish she has caught, nor the caterpillars she has gathered in the forest belong to her. Everything goes to the heirs. Her property is limited to objects she may have received as her personal share in her daughter's bride price, or as some other payment belonging exclusively to the mother.

If the widow remains in the family of the deceased, however, her fields, tools, etc., are left to her, for under those conditions there is no reason to take them away from her. But if she
● [787] remarries elsewhere, the heirs are pitiless. A Nkundó does not want the family wealth to be scattered or squandered in any way. The law says lokutu lǒkísó lófótsw'înyamó, "our patrimony can not be alienated."

736 In point of fact the widow is treated more favorably, at
768 least in the best instances. If her relations with the family have been good, they will not refuse her some small object that she

776 There is a large number of diverse spirits, and almost
823 every village has several in its territory Each one has its own habitat in some singular place or object which stimulates the imagination: enormous trees, oval hollows which form ponds of a sort (jémbo, pl. baémbo), steep slopes, extraordinary pieces of limonite, whirlpools in streams and rivers, etc

776 The Nkundó pray to the bilíma in order to obtain children.
842 For that purpose they make offerings of food and money. To test someone's feelings toward it, an elíma may come to him in the evening or at night in the guise of a known person and ask for some small present. Unhappy is he who shows himself to be stingy; he will be deprived of the object of his desire, or his child will be premature or born sickly or deformed.

783 In addition to taking a generally friendly attitude toward
842 the spirit, another means of ensuring his intervention is open to a
776 woman. She can procure some kaolin (eongo) at the spirit's habitat (a jémbo, preferably). In the evening she mixes it with some plants. She smears her abdomen with this mixture, known
[843] as isaá. She continues the treatment throughout her pregnancy; it has the property of removing everything in her which is of such a nature that it might oppose the spirit (ákékola lokeko jwá bilíma lóle ndá likundú).

776 Certain water spirits are known for their generosity, for
842 instance Itúmbálombé or Ekótalombé of Mpakú, [471] who is considered to be a female being. She goes on distant voyages to seek a supply of children. On her return she appears to someone and communicates the news to him so that he may spread it. But she orders all women who desire her favors to observe some form of abstinence. Sometimes she sings to amuse or calm the children On that day mothers must not use songs to pacify their little ones or to put them to sleep and can use only soft words for that purpose. Otherwise the child would die, for to do so would be to disregard the old elíma's kindness.

Sometimes the spirits give signs of their blessing. A woman
[787] who is bathing on the shore just at the time a cargo arrives there will soon see her most intimate wish fulfilled From forest spirits

776 842 [797] women receive other signs: an unexpected obstacle in the form of a stone, a stump, a root, the capture of a tree frog which comes and jumps onto the shoulder, etc

A spirit loves and protects only a child he himself has given. He abhors and hates to the death the living gifts of his fellow spirits. If there are several bilímá in the vicinity of a single village, however, the Nkundó explain the absence of the usual rivalries by considering them as related; one is the husband, another the wife, others the children; that is why they do not oppose each other.

776 843 Thus an elímá is hostile to any fetus not of his creation. Nevertheless, his spiteful action only begins at the end of several weeks, and even then the pregnancy must have gone far enough to be visible (jěmi jôkela isómbá) Does it take time for him to obtain evidence that the fruit in question is undoubtedly his own gift?

In any case the consequence of this belief is that a woman who has been pregnant for several months cannot long [472] reside in foreign parts, and one who, after conception, has accompanied a husband who has gone to work elsewhere, returns to her village to complete the last period of pregnancy and to deliver.

[751] However, there is an antidote (nsengó) against this murderous action of the spirits. It may be obtained from a person who knows the recipe (this person is not the nkanga or "doctor"). The protective compound is wrapped in a bit of cloth and, by means of a thread of fibers from the lokósá creeper, is tied in the middle of a rope braided with the fibers of the ikuluyaéndé bush, which the threatened woman ties around her hips. (1)

[114] [115] 1. These data on the subject of the elímá is diametrically opposed to the ideas of Father Schebesta (Vollblutneger und Halbzwerge, p. 241, and W. Schmidt, Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Vol. 4, p. 322), based on the word of his interpreter, . Bern. . Bongonga of Boúlama (Bombwanja) (now deceased), who was

Article V. Name Giving

553 Naming does not occur on any predetermined date. It is not delayed without a special reason. No feast or ceremony accompanies the event. The father simply puts colored powder on the child's forehead as a sign of joy.

It is the father's right to choose a name for his child. Sometimes he asks for the family's opinion. Preferably he gives names of his relatives, deceased or living, or sometimes his own. But it is proper to respect the mother's feelings also. Failure to take them into account could provoke the woman to cause an abortion in order to punish him for being so willful as to neglect her family.

[845] [768] A painful childbirth, like the repeated death of preceding children, is often attributed to the rancor of a dead person who is discontented. In such a situation the Nkundó await the verdict [787] of a dream, or they have recourse to the judgment of a nkanga (doctor-magician) in order to be able to satisfy the irascible dead.

553 551 If the situation recurs too often, the calamity is attributed to a rivalry between dead persons who are fighting over which of their respective names should be given to the newborn; the envious loser kills the child. In order to avoid such mean vengeance and make everyone content while satisfying none, the father gives the child a neutral name or a Botswa name, such as Botswá, Sáka, Éfâlína (nameless), Botsilá (lack of success, bad luck), Litúli (dead without known cause), etc. If the child has already received a name, but for one reason or another the inauspicious fury of a ghost is feared, it is always possible to change from that name to another.

Children are usually given the names of relatives of the same sex. Exceptions are sometimes made, however, if one of the sexes is not sufficiently represented among the progeny, in which case the bearer of the name can always change it later, and he almost always does. Nevertheless, there are [500] no specifically male or female names, except for those that consist of the relative form of a verb, such as Ósâsuka, "the coquette," Óyémengo, "she who comes with plenty," Ófénji, "she who excels." Finally, certain names are sometimes used for either sex.

596 invading groups of kinsfolk there was always one who was considered as the family head, and this man could claim the title of *momene mokonda*, the owner of the land. Round this man the rest of the members of the family group clustered, and he had the general direction of their affairs. He could scarcely be termed a chief, having a paternal oversight rather than exercising any wide authority demanding organizing ability and political astuteness. The succession of *momene mokonda* runs collaterally through younger brothers in the first place; hence if a first-born male happens to hold that position, the succession among his younger brothers is in the order of their birth. When these have all died the succession passes to the next generation. If all the males of a group die, it is possible for a daughter's son to leave his father's side in order to assume the position of *momene mokonda* on his mother's side.

A *momene mokonda* can delegate his duties as head to another member of the family, who is then termed *molomi o ehe*, the husband of the settlement. For such a privilege payment is generally made to the *momene mokonda*. Round these *momene mokonda* and their immediate kinsmen others gathered, forming, it may be, another section of the same settlement, known then as an *etuka*, or, if numerous, another settlement.[1]

624 The *momene mokonda* (or *molomi o ehe*) hears and judges cases that come to him, aided always by a group of elders, and directs the activities of the settlement. However, [693] this does not entirely satisfy the Tumba; they want an *nkumu* also. The *nkumu* is chosen, not by the whole settlement, but by a single village, or it may be even one *etuka* of a village. If the villages of a settlement were without an *nkumu* it would generally, but not necessarily, be the *etuka* of the *momene mokonda* which would lead off by seeking one out. The group desiring an *nkumu* are known as the *molambe*, and they look about for a man of the same tribe but not of the same settlement or village, an outsider. He must be a man of some wealth, for actually he will buy his right of authority and pay heavily for it. If the man who is approached accepts, he is known from then on until his accession as *Nkema Akuke*, the term *nkumu* not being used until he is finally invested with the insignia of office, the *montolo*, or hat of special design. *Nkema Akuke*'s family is known as the *ekopo*, or *nnango*. This man, [556] once having accepted the invitation to become *nkumu*, sets about amassing wealth in the form of wives and brass rods. He may be years about it, but he does not thereby forfeit his right to the office, nor apparently weary those who extended the invitation. Should *Nkema Akuke* die before he is installed as *nkumu*, or should he wish to withdraw from the honour bestowed upon him, the succession passes to another member of his *ekopo*. The succession would normally pass to the eldest male of the *ekopo*, ● [787] but many circumstances may interfere to give it to another member of the family. A dream dreamed by a male of the *ekopo* to the effect that he should be the *nkumu* is sufficient to give him the right of succession over the eldest male. When asked [689] whether it was common to lie about such a dream having occurred, in order to gain the right of succession, those questioned received the suggestion with emphatic negatives, for this is no time to lie; any man so doing would be sure to die, and the fear of death would deter him from such baseness.

[1] Where practical, the invested chiefs set up by the Belgian Colonial Government are men chosen because of their right to be known as *momene mokonda* or *molomi o ehe*. Often, however, the settlements are so small and lacking in cohesion that it has been necessary to set up chiefs arbitrarily over chiefdoms very much larger than were their own hereditary spheres of influence.

7:Brown M-5 (ca. 1940) 1944 FO32 Mongo FO32
Ntomba

fear of death would deter him from such baseness. Another sign of the chosen successor is some untoward experience, such, for example, as finding cowrie shells (worn by *nkumu*) in a trap in the forest or a net that had been put out to catch fish.

Nkema Akuke, whether the first of his line or a man succeeding in the office, bears the emblems of his rank. He wears an *ilelembe* (a branch of a special bush) stuck into his belt on the right side and hanging downwards. The special hat, *montolo*, worn by *nkumu* is not yet his to wear, but he wears an ordinary skin hat known as *lopopo*, which is the mark of any elder. This hat may be ornamented with feathers if so desired.

When *Nkema Akuke* decides that he has acquired sufficient wealth to enable him properly to claim the right of being made an *nkumu*, he begins his preparatory arrangements. *Mbili*, a mixture of charcoal with some sticky substance, is smeared over his body with plantain leaves. All ornamented clothing is discarded and a single cloth woven from raffia, and known as *molele*, is worn. He refuses to sit on the benches usually used and instead sits on the bare earth. All this is explained as an attempt on the part of the man about to be raised to the office of *nkumu* to be different from others, a man apart, separate, peculiar, not partaking in the ordinary interests and affairs of his fellow men.

Nkema Akuke now leaves his own village accompanied by all his wives and children, and also by a singer, *nyemba*, who is paid to sing his praises, and by several male Batwa (pygmies), up to half a dozen in number, known as *atotii* because of their duty of blowing gourds and producing sounds which indicate praise of the great man. This party makes the round of villages wherever relatives are found, and the announcement is made that *Nkema Akuke* is about to become an *nkumu*. This pilgrimage accomplished, a 'doctor' (*nkanga*) is visited by the aspirant to office, who seeks by magic to discover whether it is the propitious time for the ceremony of installation. The whole company retires to the private enclosure at the rear of the house belonging to the *nkanga* chosen, this being the place where he performs his wonders. The *nkanga* resorts to *mingo*, that particular branch of magic which has to do with reasons for strange and unaccountable phenomena.[1] *Nkema Akuke* now seeks some sign as confirmation of his determination to claim his office at this time. Some native pepper may be wrapped in a leaf or merely covered by it, and left within sight of all, and upon being opened it may be found to have turned into salt, or perhaps it may be some earth that is thus turned to salt. Or a cock may be placed upon *Nkema Akuke*'s head and covered with a basket and thus left for some time. Upon removing the basket it may be discovered that an egg has been laid. All such tests, if successful, will be regarded as indications that it really is time for *Nkema Akuke* to assume the office of *nkumu*, but if the test fails he will usually go ahead with his plans anyhow, fearing the shame that would come to him should he go back to his home after having made the triumphant round of his relatives' homes. However, should he act thus, and he most certainly will, he knows that his days are numbered,

[1] If a man's fields do not produce and he cannot understand why, he will resort to *mingo*. If it is suspected, for example, that the trouble is caused by someone making 'medicine', an arrow shaft is put into a small hole in the ground, and at each name mentioned, the arrow can be pulled out if the person is innocent, but remains stuck fast in the hole at the mention of the guilty name.

7:Brown M-5 (ca. 1940) 1944 FO32 Mongo FO32
Ntomba

624 and that he may have no more than a month or perhaps a year in which to live and will surely die speedily.

The special objects attaching to the office of *nkumu*, among these the hat, *montolo*, and stool, *mbata*, are at the same time subject to similar magical arts to determine whether they may be produced for the new *nkumu*'s use. They are not present, being in the possession of the *molembe* which will appoint him, but are mentioned by name. Apart from the *montolo*, no further ceremony is required to identify these objects with their future owner.

[309] The *mingo* ended, the *Nkema Akuke* smears black *mbili* all over his body again, 624 before the rites begin to determine which of his wives is to be known as *Nsono*, ●787 the one who will be closest to her husband throughout his days. For this, magic formulae (*bienzako*, sing. *eenzako*) are used. All the wives sit round in a circle and the *nkanga* places some irritant such as ground pepper in the eyes of all the women. The wife whose eyes stream most and whose discomfort is also accompanied by a violent [827] shaking of the body is known to be *Nsono*. Here again, lying is believed to be out of the question, for the shaking of the body is something that is supposed to be impossible of simulation, the real being easily distinguished by all from the false. *Nsono* is now stripped of all clothing and her body smeared by the *nkanga* with yellow clay on one side, and with white on the other. A belt of leaves is put round her waist 624 and a small bit of cloth between the legs with each end attached to the belt. Near by 789 a gourd with 'medicine' in it has been standing ready for the next step in the ceremonies, and this is now smeared with white clay, a parrot's feather stuck in the neck, and handed to *Nsono*, who receives it in one hand. Into the other hand is put a section of plantain stalk, into one end of which has been stuck a parrot's feather. A third feather is placed in her mouth so that she cannot speak, greet anyone, or eat. She is now tied with a cord which is held by one of the young men attending *Nkema Akuke*. At this point of the procedure the *nkanga* states his price [791] for his work, which will be in the neighbourhood of one hundred brass rods, worth 435 to-day about fifty francs, but formerly double that amount. The future *nkumu*, accompanied as before, leaves for the village of the *molembe*. *Nsono* starts off at a tremendous pace, for she is now imbued with a sort of frenzied strength, and for this reason has been tied up and put in charge of a strong young man, otherwise she would be off so fast that no one could catch her, and would go into the forest, where she would live for days unseen.

624 In the village of the *molembe* the party all sit in an *ebanga* belonging to one of the elders. This is the place where the Tumba men really live—their houses are just [343] sleeping and cooking establishments, but the *ebanga*, having a roof for shade and no 342 walls, is the place where the men congregate and spend their leisure time. It is also the site of the village smithy, which takes up one end. Here, then, *Nkema Akuke* and [262] his party sit for a day and a night, and neither he nor *Nsono* may eat food or drink wine during this period. Games are played by the *molembe*—mock battles, dances, and [517] songs chiefly of battle, and before the first streaks of dawn appear the group in the *ebanga* begins to march up and down the village singing.

At dawn the whole party, accompanied by a large crowd, make their way to a place in the bush where there is an elevation of some sort. Here *Nkema Akuke* climbs up and takes his stand, accompanied by *Nsono*. Now the *molembe* choose the *Bilepo*